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硕 士 学 位 论 文

亚洲国家的人口迁移与贫困

**MIGRATION AND POVERTY IN ASIA**

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## **摘要**

本文旨在更好地理解人口迁移概念的前提下，推动这一议题的讨论，并且让人们熟知发展政策的辩论。人口迁移对亚洲经济的发展和当地贫困人民的生活方式而言变得日益重要。当前的文献和方针政策很少提及人口迁移对经济发展和减少贫困的贡献。事实上，许多政策往往或者忽视人口迁移问题，或者或明或暗地试图减少人口的迁移。

关键词：人口迁移；贫困

## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this paper is to prompt discussion and inform development policy debates with an improved understanding of migration. Migration is an increasingly significant factor in the economic development of Asia and in the livelihood strategies of many poor people within the region. The current literature and policy discourse pay little attention to the contribution of migration to economic development and poverty reduction. Indeed policies tend to ignore migration, or have the implicit or explicit aim to reduce migration.

Keywords: migration; poverty

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## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE**

During the last three decades, the Asian and Pacific region has witnessed a substantial increase in the scale, diversity and complexity of population movements (Dang, 2001). The region is made up of both highly developed countries, exerting an enormous "pull" effect on migrants, and some of the world's poorest countries where recourse of migration is a form of survival and a means to escape poverty. More than 60 per cent of the world's population lives in Asia and the Pacific and there are major migration flows from this continent to Europe and North America.

**Table 1. World population and migrant stocks by continent, 2000**

Region	Total Population (in million)	Migrant Stock (in million)	Percent of population
Asia-Pacific	3702.8	55.5	1.4
Africa	793.6	16.2	2.0
Europe	727.3	56.1	7.7
North America	313.1	40.8	13.0
Latin America/Caribbean	518.8	5.9	1.1
Global	6,055.6	174.5	2.9

Source: UN (2002)

Migration from Asia, which historically was relatively uni-directional and permanent in nature, is now increasingly temporary and circular. The most distinctive feature of the region's migration is the high number of intra-regional migration flows. Asia also has the highest level of rural-to-urban mobility. Net rural-to-urban migration has contributed much to the growth of the urban population in the region (ESCAP, 1998) which was not anticipated by governments and planners. It is noteworthy that there has been an



increasing feminization of various streams of population movement observed in this region (Skeldon, 1999). As of 2000, women migrants constituted nearly 47 per cent of all migrants in the region (UN, 2002). This is partially due to the demand in the domestic services sector and sending countries are increasingly dependent on migrant remittances.

In the ESCAP region during the 1990s, poverty appears to have declined in a number of countries (see Skeldon, 2002). By the end of the 1990s, poverty levels in many countries have fallen below 40 per cent. Although migration is an important phenomenon in Asia, past analyses of poverty have often neglected to account for migration. In fact, migration is related in the lives of the urban and rural poor in many countries in the region. Labour migration and the remittances sent home by migrant workers are now crucial features - if not determinants - of rural economy and society as a whole. The current debates pay too little attention to the contribution of migration to poverty reduction. Development and public policies tend to ignore migration, or even have the implicit or explicit aim to reduce migration. While innovative programmes for migrants have been introduced in many Asian countries, national and subnational development plans currently do not focus on the importance of migration to national development or seek to increase benefits and opportunities for poor migrants.

In an attempt to examine the poverty-migration issues in the context of Asia, this paper aims to pave the ways for a systematic research in this important area and to initially generate some policy recommendations. The paper examines the extent to which both migration and migrants can serve as development resource to assist the poor and reduce poverty. It focuses on voluntary or economic migration which tends to be most relevant for poor people. It is the fundamental premise of this paper that while population movement is not the only factor related to poverty, migration can significantly contribute to poverty reduction. Four countries, namely Bangladesh, China, the Philippines and Viet Nam, sharing principal differences and similarities in patterns of migration, poverty reduction, political systems and cultural traditions, are selected for this study. Both internal and international movements are included for analysis. For Bangladesh and the Philippines, the paper examines international migration, whereas for China and Viet Nam

internal migration is assessed in relation to poverty reduction. They are discussed separately as case studies without attempting to generalize for the region as a whole.

## **1.2 MOTIVATION OR BACKGROUND**

Migration is a critical issue for the both developed and developing countries today. Especially for Asia it is been a very important issue. Migration is an increasingly significant factor in the economic development of Asia and in the livelihood strategies of many poor people within the region. Migration is a missing link in current development policies. The economic role that migration plays in local and national development and how this can be further directed to poverty reduction needs to be recognized. So these things have motivated me to do research on Migration and Poverty in Asia with reference to some case studies.

## **1.3 METHOD OF STUDY**

This paper will be based on secondary literature and investigation into data produced by reputed organizations. There are some portions of qualitative analysis too. Especially the secondary sources include literature review like reviewing renowned daily newspapers, weekend magazines, relevant books, articles, journals, and some authentic websites of the relevant organizations. In addition to this, in-depth surveys done by reputed organizations will also be reviewed for this paper for the better understanding of the issue.

As the information is based on secondary sources the question of authentication triggers in our minds. But if we remain a bit alert of this fact then we can avoid the problem of authentication or verification by cross- checking with some other sources. In this paper I will try to give as much verified data as possible.

## **1.4 REVIEW ON RELEVANT STUDIES**

The realization that the amount remitted by migrants to developing countries far exceeds foreign assistance has fueled growing interest in the relationship between migration and development among both scholars and policy makers. In the last few years, a series of reports and review articles have summarized the links between migration, poverty and development (Amassari 1994; Lucas, 2005; Newland 2003, 2004; Russell 2003; Skeldon 1997, 2003, 2004; Sörensen et al. 2002, etc.). Many focus on the impact of remittances (Carling, 2004; Orozco 2002, Gammeltoft 2002; Lowell and de la Garza 2000; Ratha 2003;), while others consider the impact of circular and return migration (Ammasari and Black 2001; Black 2001; Ghosh 2000; Hugo 2003; King, 1986), the role of diasporas (Kapur 2001; Koser, 2003; Newland and Patrick 2004; Van Hear et al. 2004) and policy (Carling 2004; Ellerman 2003; Koser 2003; Martin et al 2002). A much smaller literature considers the question of “social remittances” or the impact of migrants on ideas, behaviors and social capital in the sending country (Levitt 1999).

## **1.5 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS**

The paper focuses on voluntary or economic migration. Built on selected case studies of internal and international migration, it argues that migration is an increasingly significant factor in the economic development of Asia and in the livelihood strategies of many poor people within the region. To illustrate the above mentioned statement first I would try to provide a general idea about the migration theories in chapter 2. After that to show the relationship between migration and poverty I would attempt to give an idea about migration, development and poverty reduction in chapter 3. In the following chapter, which is chapter 4, I would like to mention the case studies of four Asian countries, namely Bangladesh, China, The Philippines and Vietnam. At the end I would draw a conclusion and few policy recommendations based on my understanding of the researched issue.

## **CHAPTER 2 MIGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY REDUCTION**

### **2.1 CONCEPTS OF MIGRATION**

Early migration theories focused on poverty of places rather than people. This was symptomatic of thinking at a time when poverty reduction was seen as synonymous with national development and the growth of gross domestic product (GDP). Development was posed as a problem of structural transformation of the rural backward sector into the urban modern sector (Lewis 1954). The Harris-Todaro model—probably the most important theoretical starting point for migration theories—is built on this idea (Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970). In this, a prospective migrant weighs the difference between the expected earnings from formal sector urban employment (possibly after an initial period of informal sector employment), and the expected earnings in the village. While the general validity of the model has been affirmed empirically, its two-sector characterization simplifies patterns of migration (it ignores rural migration, and return to rural areas, for example, and as a result underemphasizes migration by the poorest) and misses how labour markets connect to product or output markets.

More recent migration literature has emphasized family strategies as crucial elements in migration decisions (Stark 1991). The family is conceptualized as a coalition vis-à-vis the rest of the world, and family members share the costs and rewards of migration. Migration is seen as a form of income and asset diversification by families, with families investing in migrants, migrants in families, and both expecting returns from that. Adolescent children are probably part of this, especially in poor communities where a long period of childhood is unaffordable, but the literature on family migration strategies generally does not recognize children (a point developed in later sections). Economic models using this line of theory have been of two types (de la Brière et al. 1997). One type focuses on implicit insurance contracts between the migrant and the family left behind to cope with risk, and shows the role of remittances as a form of portfolio

diversification. A second type builds on literature around bequest motives, and sees remittances as investments in household assets that the migrant will later inherit, supported by analyses of different remittance behaviours between men and women (caused by gender differentiated inheritance rules).

Using households rather than places as the unit of analysis is appropriate for a number of reasons. First, it sits more comfortably with sociological and anthropological analysis. Second, it takes better account of the fact that much, if not most, migration is “circular”, with continued interactions with areas of origins rather than a one-way and one-off move. This takes the analysis out of the (implicit) emphasis on “transition” in the rural-urban models of Harris and Todaro. Third, a focus on households should, in principle, make it easier to incorporate findings from the dominant kind of poverty analysis (much of which focuses on household-level analysis).

However, the “new economics of migration” remains grounded in a functionalistic and individualistic framework. Migration is seen primarily in terms of contractual arrangements within the household, and as solutions to market failures, such as the absence of access to insurance or investment in education. There is little attention to the “non-economic” factors driving such decisions that help, for example, to differentiate migration for women, men, girls and boys. A large part of the literature emphasizes the role of social and other institutions in migration, sometimes seen as being consistent with traditional values and other times as “unravelling the social fabric”. While the new economics emphasizes the role of family in analysing migration-poverty linkages, it fails to sufficiently emphasize that these linkages are mediated by cultural factors, values and so on.

Even in circumstances of poverty, migration responses are not simple responses driven by economic incentives, but informed by ideas of appropriate actions in a particular context. Research focusing on migrant networks has played a very important role in helping to see movements of people as part, not only of traditions of migration and interpreted in a cumulative migration theory, but also of wider processes of social and

economic development. Finally, gender analysis has contributed greatly, not only in understanding differentiated motivations for, and impacts of, migration, but also in the way migration processes are structured, emphasizing power and exploitation: gender is an essential tool for unpicking the migration process (Chant and Redcliffe 1992; Wright 1995).

Marxist perspectives offer a long tradition of analysing links between migration on the one hand, and poverty and development on the other, mostly in terms of post-colonialism, apartheid and uneven capitalist development. Partly in the context of urbanization and debates on the informal sector, but also with its focus on migrant workers within rural areas, this tradition explicitly challenged the individualistic assumptions underlying models like Todaro's, and has described migration as an inalienable part of the transition toward capitalism. With respect to international migration, this tradition has emphasized the exploitation of migrant workers as beneficial to capital and richer nations at the cost of labour and poorer nations and regions. Moreover, similar to neoclassical approaches to migration, Marxist models focus exclusively on economic factors. Migration processes can be understood adequately only as the outcome of interaction of a diversity of factors, including socio cultural and economic forces, and gendered and childhood norms and rules—and how migration in turn alters these factors.

An important theme cutting across the different analytical traditions is why people migrate, and this has led to theorization of migration as a selective process. The rational choice framework in labour migration theory suggests individuals with better education, skills and labour market experience are more likely to migrate because of their greater ability to capture its rewards. It is assumed that the poorest are selected out of migration because they cannot afford it, and because their lower human capital implies lower expected rewards. The “new economics of migration” suggests the poorest do not have access to migration opportunities because of their lower capacity for risk-taking, and literature on kinship networks in migration suggests the poorest lack social capital that facilitates migration. Although the evidence is limited and mixed (Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler 2003), there appears to be acceptance of an “empirical regularity” that

the poorest and richest have lower migration propensities. The severely poor are believed to be almost unable to migrate, or migrate under such bad terms—for example, in bonded labour—that migration does not improve their well-being and often even makes them worse off (Mosse et al. 2002).

While international migration to the global North captures most of the policy attention, migration within countries and to countries in the South are probably more relevant for poverty reduction, and are likely to involve much larger numbers of children. First, middle-income countries attract migrants from nearby low-income countries (Hujo and Piper 2007). Migration costs to developing country destinations are lower and therefore more widely affordable. Crossborder migration in zones with particularly porous borders, and historical and cultural similarities, such as on the borders between Bangladesh, India and Nepal, or across much of West Africa, may present even lower barriers for poorer people. Second, the scale of internal migration is many times that of international migration, and participation in it is probably more widespread throughout the income distribution. For example, remittances from internal migration are estimated to be around \$30–40 billion<sup>7</sup> in China alone, compared to international remittances of around \$200 billion worldwide (DFID 2007). In China, while remittances and investments of Chinese abroad have greatly contributed to its economic development, the internal migration of perhaps 200 million people has been one of the key factors in its impressive record of poverty reduction.<sup>8</sup> Return migration following the financial crisis of 2008–2009 is expected to reverse a part of this progress, even though the Chinese government is making efforts to ensure return migrants are integrated in rural society.

Internal migration consists of many different types. In Thailand, a third of internal migration was multiple or seasonal (rather than a single move), and at least until 1990, migration *into* rural, suburban and peri-urban areas was twice as large as into urban centres (Guest 2003)—and while this has probably changed by now in Thailand, partly because of urban expansion incorporating areas previously classified as rural, the point is indicative of countries at earlier stages of their structural transformation. In India, with high rates of economic growth, migration within rural areas remains a significant—if not

the largest—component of total migration flows. These kinds of migration may be more affordable, given that single-move migration is costlier because it involves more of the family. They may also be better suited to the human capital profiles of poor farming households.

International and internal migration studies tend to be separate fields of enquiry involving different researchers and concerns (DeWind and Holdaway 2008, 2005), which may make it harder to capture the poorest migrants in research. The same disconnect, though to a lesser extent, can be noted for research on migration into Northern countries versus South-South migration; and also cleavages between research on rural-urban migration, and that which focuses on diverse patterns of internal migration. This is not to deny that different issues are raised by the various fields of enquiry; however, from the view of a poor household, these may simply be alternative forms of movement. The type of migration a poor household undertakes depends on household strategies and opportunities, which themselves are partly conditional on the situation of poverty. Skeldon (2003:12) argues that “those looking at internal migration and those looking at international migration are separately looking at what are likely to be different responses to similar forces”.

To conclude, theoretical diversity and the structuring of fields of study may to a great extent explain the persistence of diverging views on how migration links to poverty, between those who see migration as a key poverty reduction strategy and those who argue no clear empirical links can be established (de Haan 2006). The different intellectual traditions have also strongly influenced ideologies and perceptions around migration policy.



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